Amusements, Lectures, etc., Chis Evening. BOOTH'S THEATER, Twenty-third-st. and Sixth-

FIFTH AVENUE THEATER.—" Fernande." GRAND OPERA HOUSE, Twenty-third-st. and Wallace's Theater, Broadway and Thirteenth-st. "Red Light." John Broadway. WOOD'S MUSEUM AND MENAGERIE.—At 2 and 8:

CENTRAL PARK GARDEN.—Theodore Thomas's Pop-COOPER INSTITUTE.-Mass Meeting of Sons of Tem-KELLY & LEON'S MINSTEELS, No. 720 Broadway.-NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN, Twenty-third-st.

Buginess Notices.

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UP-TOWN ADVERTISEMENTS. For the accommodation of up-town residents, Mr. E. H. Brown has opened offices at No. 54 West Thirty-accond-st., junction of Broadway and Sixth-ave., and at No. 40 East Eighteenth-st., between Broadway and Fourth-ave., where advertisements for The TRIBUNE will be received up to 72 in the evening.

Nem-Dork Daily Tribune.

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1870.

The English steamer Dacia has arrived at Porto Rico, with the new West India telegraph cable. An explosion has occurred in a Government powder-mill at Waltham Abbey, near London, several persons being killed.—— Napoleon is still unwell, but his condition is not considered serious. === Several important political reforms have been promulgated in Portugal, and the death pen alty has been abolished. - The steamer Geo. B. Upton has landed the remainder of her cargo successfully in

In the Senate, yesterday, the Post-office Appropriation bill was further considered, several amendments con erning the Franking Privilege being voted down. The House bill reducing taxation was reported with amendments -- In the House, the Ways a mittee was instructed to report a bill reducing the duty on potatoes and all kinds of fish 50 per cent. The fortification Appropriation bill and the Army Appropriation bill were passed. A bill was reported looking to the ad-mission of the Territory of New-Mexico into the Union as a State, under the name of the State of Lincoln.

There is a great gathering of Sloux Indians at Fort Laramie, anxious to hear from Red Cloud. Three fatal affrays occurred in St. Louis on Saturday night, and another on Sunday. —— A severe hall-storm passed over Central New-York and the Eastern States yesterday. doing great damage to the fruit, &c. = Gov. Claffin has vetoed the Hartford and Eric Railroad Aid bill. Secretary Fish is on a visit to Fortress Monroe.

The Eric Railroad Company has begun an action against the Lake Shore Road for violation of contract, damages being laid at \$3,000,000. - The Tritonen Sharpshooters held their annual festival yesterday .=== The suit brought against the Guatemalen Consul at this port has been settled in favor of the United Stares. Gold, 1123, 1123, 1123. Thermometer, 76, 89, 76.

The Fortification Appropriation bill was spurred through the House yesterday, and goes to the Senate, where it will, of course, suffer delay and perhaps curtailment. The latter it can stand very well, and the former will not materially damage it.

The steamer Geo. B. Upton has, on her second trip, succeeded in safely landing her supplies and men in Cuba. The Spanish reports which admit this say nothing of the capture of the munitions of war; hence we infer that they have reached the patriot troops, who sorely need them. The Upton, it will be seen, has reached this port again in safety.

The Army Appropriation bill was passed by the House yesterday after a short debate, during which our friend Brooks seized an opportunity for declaring, with his usual disregard of facts, that "the army was employed to suppress "human liberty and regular government in "eleven States," and then voting, with his usual consistency, for the appropriation.

The reports of the action of the Senate Finance Committee on the Income Tax are somewhat conflicting. One account states that the Committee has adopted the provision of the House retaining the tax at five per cent and placing the exemption at \$2,000; while another asserts that it adheres to its original proposition to reduce the tax to three per cent, leaving the exemption at \$1,000 as at present. Each of these plans is objectionable. Why not adopt the three per cent rate of the one and the \$2,000 limitation of the other ? Or, better still, let the odious impost be permitted quietly to depart to that bourne where lobbyists cease from troubling and Congressmen are at rest.

A Republican member of Congress lately expressed the hope that New-York would tial was all this noisy surface opposicontinue Mr. John Morrissey as one of its tion. It was found that, since Jackson, delegates in Congress, on the ground that he no man had so reached the popular heart. never talked, seldom voted, and was thor- Assailed in Committee-rooms, he was apoughly a man of business with business ideas. plauded in town-meetings. Distrusted in cau-Mr. Fox, member from this city, hath virtues cuses, he was enthusiastically followed by the also; and it is evident that, like his greater plain yeomanry of the country. The men who

bid of yesterday for popular favor in asking a reduction of duties on potatoes and fish? Potatoes and fish! What tender recollections it will arouse in the breast of his old constituents! What one of them is there so hardened in Tammany crimes as to remain deaf to such an affecting appeal as "cheap "codfish and potatoes?" With this war-cry, let the Young Democracy put on its war-paint afresh and reorganize victory.

Another State and another Territory are to be constructed. New-Mexico believes she has attained the age and dignity of a State, and asks admission as such. The House Territorial Committee thinking her request reasonable reports favorably upon it, and proposes to give her the name of Lincoln. Thus far well and good. But the same Committee also wishes to form a Territorial Government in the Indian Territory. We understood that the Cherokees and Choctaws, to whom this Territory belongs and by whom it is occupied, do not want any such Government, being satisfied with those they have. Will Congress force a new one on them for the sole purpose, as it is intimated, of calling the Territory Douglas, as a "compliment to the large number of Douglas Demperats who joined the Republican party?" The Douglas Democrats, we hope, don't want a compliment at the expense or injustice of our semi-barbarian brethren in the Indian Ter-

If the United States Congress had insisted in the memorable year of grace 1864, when "Johnny came marching home," that the three years' terms of enlistment of the volunteers had not expired by limitation, even though the war was not then ended, and had legislated to keep them in the field, what soldiers might probably have dealt with Congress much after the summary manner of Cromwell and his men with the provoking Parliament of their day. Yet Congress now trifles with these same soldiers by legislating to continue upon them the imposition of an odious tax which expires by limitation with the present year. It is true these soldiers are now citizens only, bearing ballots, not bayonets; but Congress will be quick to discover, if it persists in breaking faith with them, that their rage is as dangerous now as then. The violation of faith with the volunteers would not have been more flagrant than this which is now threatened with the tax-payers. And the punishment of those who persist in the present fraud will be as certain, if not as severe, as it would have been in the impossible contingency we have supposed.

The confidence of the United States Senate in the patience of the American people is certainly without parallel. That body has had before it during this session scores of bills framed in private interests, and an industrious lobby has secured the adoption of every one of them which has come up for consideration. In the direct interest of tax-payers there have been two memorable bills presented-one putting an end to the gross abuse of the Franking Privilege, and the other reducing a tax which ought to be permitted wholly to expire. Although thousands of citizens have appealed in petitions for relief in these matters, the Senate has utterly disregarded their demands and rights. When the House, in response to the great cry which has gone up, voted to abolish the Franking Privilege, the Senate persisted in overlading it with such idle and preposterous amendments as were calculated to delay and ultimately defeat it. For several days these amendments have been before that body, and have been considered in debates whose language and manner are studied insults to the American people. Messrs. Sumner, Nye, Stewart, Drake, Spencer, and others who indulge in these dilatory motions, will yet discover that testing public patience is a dangerous game, at which politicians ought never to play.

THE ADMINISTRATION A SUCCESS.

Gen. Grant's career as President is vehemently pronounced a failure by such representatives of different opinions and constituencies as The World and The Sun. The one denounces him because, whereas he once seemed to have few affiliations with professional politicians, he is now on the best of terms with them; because he shows capacity to forget personal grudges in desire to do his duty, and thus opens cordial relations with old antagonists like Gen. Butler: because he is not, as it avers, a brilliant President (like Pierce or Buchanan, we suppose), is not ambitious to enforce a policy of his own, but is most ready, waiving his own opinions, when necessary, to accept and execute the will of the people, as expressed through Congress. The Sun is even more vehement, but less explicit. It denounces him, (after claiming that, but for its Editor, he would never have been Commander-in-Chief, or President) because he takes occasional seasons of relaxation from the cares of office; because he does not always select noted politicians for the offices; because he does not adopt a high tone with effete and bankrupt Spain; because he has appointed to office men once engaged in rebellion; and in general, because, as it alleges, he is lazy and incompetent. With the personal matters which, in one of

these cases, that of Mr. Dana, are openly discussed in connection with this judgment, we have nothing to do. With the judgment itself we propose briefly to deal. We do not regard Gen. Grant's administration as a failure. We do regard it as a very safe and substantial success, and we do not for one moment doubt that, outside the narrow but noisy limits of political disappointments and aspirations. the sober, well-considered judgment of the Country sincerely and heartily renders the same verdict. We remember that there was a time when Mr. Lincoln was denounced in terms almost identical with those now used in denunciation of Gen. Grant. He was accused of lack of brilliancy. He was declared to be no politician. He was said to cling to political nobodies, like Bates and Usher and Welles: to ignore the live, powerful men of the party, hke Chase and Cameron and Butler. He was without pluck, allowing the Country to be bullied by Great Britain with her privateers, and by France with her Mexican expedition. He sought relaxation from the cares of office, and even indulged in the enormity of telling stories, while the Republic was in the throes of a struggle for its existence. Yet, in spite of envenomed assault on these and many like scores, he was renominated without a count. Then was seen how trivial and inconsequen-

Presidency was no race at all, but a triumphal procession. It is too soon to say that Gen. Grant's popularity will to the end abide the same tests;-it is not too soon to say that it now seems of like character. The plain people believe in him, as they believed in Lincoln. They consider his administration as they considered Lincoln's, a success. And they are right. For

Grant's Administration is collecting the revenue, economizing the expenditures, and paying the debt. When Gen. Grant was inaugurated the National Debt was \$2,738,803,598. At the end of his first year it was \$2,651,668,795, and since then it has been steadily reduced in ever increasing ratio. Yet taxes have not been increased. On the contrary, special taxes have from time to time been largely reduced, imposts have been removed, the burden has been more and more lifted from productive industry, and at this very moment, in accordance with Gen. Grant's earnest desire, a modified Tax and Tariff bill is before the Senate, having already passed the House, which takes off at a single stroke 65 millions more. Yet the revenue increases. What, under Johnson, went into the pockets of the thieves, goes, under Grant, into the coffers of the Treasury, and its amount is deducted from the annual taxation.

Grant's Administration, though that of the most successful and renowned Soldier of his age, is earnestly seeking peace with all nations and avoiding entangling alliances. We have not always been able to agree with some details of his foreign policy; but this is its net result. Personally a known devotee of the doctrine of Eanifest Destiny, Gen. Grant has shown so scrupulous a regard for the rights of our weaker neighbors that the suspicious Mexicans would have been the result ? Justly indignant have ceased to disturb him, and the critical and unfriendly British Cabinet and press are forced to accord him reluctant praise. If he has not done all things, as to Cuba, as we would wish them, we are bound at least to recognize the fact that he has preserved our burdened people from war, protected our crippled commerce from depredation, and made energetic diplomatic efforts for the protection of American citizens in insurrectionary regions.

Grant's Administration has kept the peace or the frontier. We have been threatened with an Indian war that, under former management, would have swallowed up hundreds of millions. With a Soldier at the lead of the Government, we might have looked for the logic of the bayonet, in the interpretation of Indian treaties, protection of the advancing railroads, and opening up of the Indian country. Instead we have had an Indian placed at the head of the Bureau, controlling the relations of the Government with his people, Quakers selected for Indian agents, the wishes of Sherman and Sheridan held in check, and Spotted Tail and Red Clould brought peacefully to Washington at the moment when their barbarous hordes seemed ready to raise the war-whoop and ply the scalpingknife along hundreds of miles of our exposed settlements. We reckon the economy of Grant's Quaker policy, not less than the economy wrought by an honest collection of our revenue.

Grant's Administration has secured the triumph of Equal Rights. For the passage of the XVth Amendment we owe him grateful thanks. Against him it might possibly have been carried; with his earnest, cordial, and efficient cooperation it was certainly attained more speedily, and without a serious struggle. In this and in all other leading measures, he has been most true to the principles of the party that elected him ;-has lent his most faithful and powerful aid to secure their triumph, and has honestly administered his great office in their light. He has utterly disappointed the Democratic prediction that he would betray the Republicans; and hence their wrath. He has most cheerfully cooperated with Congress; has never hesitated to advance opinions of his own that differed from those of Congress, and has never delayed heartily to execute the will of the people, when once expressed through its voice. With most decided wishes and policy of its own, on many points, there never was an Administration with less pride of opinion, or more grace in yielding to the popular verdict, as uttered by the representatives of the people.

Grant's Administration recognizes the whole people. It is no rule of the army over its conquered foe. Every effort is made to obliterate the bitterness of war; to win back our late foes to that hearty support of the Government essential to our National safety and prosperity,-to make this again in reality one people. In this spirit have been many past acts of the President; in this spirit now is the wise and timely nomination of Mr. Akerman of Georgia for a place in the Cabinet.

-But we need not continue the recital. How poor and beggarly beside these things. seems the complaint that the President chooses to take such relaxation as every clerk or shop-keeper seeks to secure; that he does not nominate for office politicians with whose claims noisy iteration has made the publie ear familiar; that he does not make rhetorical speeches, and does not seek to establish some great and brilliant policy of foreign aggrandizement or domestic expenditure in defiance of the will of the people! We never advocated Gen. Grant as a great Statesman. We have presented him to the people as a sound and safe man. We point to his record with hearty satisfaction, and are sure that the Country will unite with us in pronouncing him a sound and safe man

SPANISH EMANCIPATION.

The bill for the emancipation of slaves in the Spanish colonies, now the subject of such acrimonious debate in the Cortes, is not a measure over which the friends of liberty can enthusiastically rejoice, or at which the Conservatives need feel much alarm. Slavery all over the world received its death-blow when Mr. Lincoln declared it abolished in the United States. Even the Spaniards and Brazilians have long perceived that its end was near in the West Indies and South America, and the utmost efforts of its friends could only prolong its existence a generation or so, or obstruct emancipation with conditions onerous to the freedman and profitable to the master. The action of the insurgents in Cuba has strengthened the hands of the liberty party so much that there is hardly a question of deferring the inevitable decree much longer except by subterfuge; and the struggle between the two parties in the Cortes now is not so much on the main question of abolition as on the conditions under which it shall be effected. The bill now under debate is in reality a compromise through which the masters, while os tensibly giving up their property in human flesh, hope to retain the actual or virtual ownership for two more generations. The bill provides for the freedom of all per-

colleague, he "means business." Else why his cast the votes believed in him to their sons born after the promulgation of the de- in a coarse bag; he was yellow with unclean-

hearts' core, and his second race for the cree, and of all slaves who have fought under the Spanish flag or otherwise aided the troops in Cuba. Slaves over 65 years of age are to be emancipated at once and allowed the option of either supporting themselves or remaining under the care of their former masters, who will be obliged to maintain them and entitled to their labor. The master's rights, as we understand the law, can be sold or otherwise transferred to another, so that the servant will really be in the condition of a slave. These are the only classes directly benefited by the law. When the slave of a loyal owner is manumitted on account of his military services, compensation is made to the owner: in other words, the loyal colonist is to be paid for property which he has already lost and has no

hope of recovering. The rest of the slave population, embracing nearly the whole, is divided into two classes, those born before the 18th of September, 1863, and those born after that date. For the former class nothing is done, except that they are promised their freedom when they reach the age of 65 and are too old to accept it. Children born since September, 1838, are to be purchased by the State at \$50 a head, but they do not really obtain their freedom until they arrive at the age of 23. In the meantime they remain under the "guardianship" of the owners of their mothers. The guardian is enjoined to teach the child some trade or occupation, and give him the rudiments of an education, and is entitled to his labor without pay until he is 18 years of age. After that the emancipado is to receive half the wages of a free person, one-half of this half payable in hand, and the rest when he reaches the age of 22, and comes into full possession of his civil rights. Children born of slave parents after the promulgation of this decree are subject to the same regulations as those born between September, 1868, and the present time; so that though nominally free from birth they do not really obtain their liberty until they are 22.

It is hardly necessary for us to point out what enormous concessions this compromise measure makes to the slave-owners. Immediate emancipation is decreed only for the comparatively small number of negroes who have fought against the insurgents in Cuba, and the very old, who are a burden upon their owners, and probably as a class cannot accept their freedom if it is offered them. The mass of the slave population are to be set at liberty as they become worn out with age. For children under two years, the masters will first receive compensation, and then be permitted to keep them in slavery till they are 22. Children yet to be born of slave parents will also be held in bondage till they are 22. Thus the bill proposes to continue Slavery till about the middle

of the next century. So far as Cuba is concerned, we dare say it makes little difference what measures Señor Moret may bring the Spanish Cortes to enact. The insurgents in that island have already proclaimed unconditional liberty throughout the land, and we have not much fear that a revolution of that sort will go backward. For the sake of the smaller Spanish colonies, however, as well as for the moral effect that follows an act of justice, we hope Moret's scheme will be thrown overboard, and the bill for immediate emancipation promised by Castelar introduced in its place. The example of the United States ought to show that the quickest and simplest way of righting a great wrong is always the best.

THE TAX AND TARIFF BILL AGAIN. The Senate Finance Committee in reporting the Tax and Tariff bill which lately passed the House, very unnecessarily alters it in many of its details, reducing the tariff materially, and, with that strange perverseness of humor which has been displayed during the whole session, repealing those taxes which ought to be enforced, and reënacting those which ought to be repealed or be allowed to expire. The special taxes on corporations and large business houses, on sales and dividends, are repealed, except upon such as sell or make liquors, wines, cigars, and like luxuries. Even the special taxes on legacies and successions of new estates are repealed; but the Income Tax, which all salaried classes pay and which rich property holders avoid, is to be enforced. The collection districts are consolidated and a little money may be thereby saved, but the tax clauses of the new bill are

worse than those of the House. The clauses altering the tariff are not more commendable. There is a general reduction of the duty on sugars, and a long free list added. The molasses, tea, coffee, iron, and Bessemer steel provisions of the House bill, however, remain unaltered. The bill, as a whole, still further reduces the foreign duties and continues the home taxes, and for this reason alone it ought not to prevail.

A NEW CASPAR HAUSER.

Many of our readers will remember the case of Caspar Hauser, the young German, who, some forty years ago, was discovered, a helpless imbecile, at the gate of a German city. Although considerably advanced in life, he could not walk; he could not talk; and he could comprehend hardly anything which was said to him. Of course, this was a fine opportunity for the philosophical German mind Books were written about Caspar Hauser. It was evolved, both by induction and deduction, that, all his life, Caspar had been kept in a dark hole, in which he could hardly stand erect; that he must have had wooden horses to play with; and, also, that he must have been the illegitimate son of some German Duke-perhaps of His Serene Highness, the Duke of Pumpernickel. This last happy conjecture was much strengthened by an attempt which was made to assassinate poor Caspar. What became of him afterward we do not know. For all that we do know he may have become Professor of Hermeneutics in the University of Göttingen.

There were not wanting the skeptical who declared that it was impossible for the man to have been secretly kept in this hole for all these years. Yet now in Philadelphia, in the Year of Grace 1870, we have a case in many respects like that of Caspar. At No. 337 Lombard-st. resided a man named Gibson, whose sleep was disturbed by extraordinary noises; and he came to the conclusion that he was lodged in the vicinity of a lunatic. Instituting inquiries, he learned enough to induce him to call in the policemen, who, on visiting the residence of Joseph Herriges, found that he was keeping a younger brother, John, aged 30, in a custody the particulars of which are both frightful and repulsive. This John was detained (according to The Post) "in two cooplike back-rooms, one above the other, about eight feet by ten." In one of these rooms the prisoner slept, and in the other he took his food. There was no furniture. The flooring was of rough boards in a shockingly filthy state. The personal condition of John Herriges was wor-

ness; his face was covered with a matted growth of hair. He was pronounced hopelessly insane; how did he become so? It appears that when only eight years old, in order to secure certain property, his brother shut him up in these coops, and has kept him there for twenty-two years! There is reason to believe that during this time he has been most cruelly beaten. There is no eyidence, we think, that when shut up he was imbecile or insane; but he was altogether in the power of a brother twenty years older than himself. The poor wretch has been conveyed to the Alms-House; and the brother held to bail in \$5,000 to answer to charges of creating a nuisance and of aggravated assault.

If we were to meet with a story like this in a cheap novel, we should declare it interesting, but at the same time highly improbable. That a wretch like this Joseph should be able for twenty-two years to keep a younger brother in a wicked durers, should be able to beat him, starve him, leave him naked, is really quite as astonishing as anything in "The Mysteries of Paris," Nor was the crime committed in an isolated locality; it was prolonged, for all these years, in a populous neighborhood of a populous city, with plenty of judges, policemen, humane societies, charitable societies, and Quaker meetings. What is still more strange, the neighbors are said to have known some thing of the affair, without disclosing their suspicions or making any appeal to the authorities. What may be done by one man may be done by many. It might not be pleasant to inquire how many wicked people in different parts of the country have set up little private mad-houses of their own, and, from motives of pecuniary interest, are subjecting lunatics or imbecile relatives to a similar treatment. More than one instance of this private sort of practice has come under our eye during the last year, although nothing, we are glad to say, approaching this Philadelphia case in atrocity.

BOSTON, HARTFORD AND ERIE.

Gov. Claffin's veto of the bill to give further aid to the Boston, Hartford and Eric Railway will doubtless put an end to the corrupt corporation which has wasted that important enterprise and the money of the State in speculations us bold and unscrupulous as those of our own Erie "ring." The enterprise was one into which the State was most cunningly drawn, by which it was deeply involved and by which it must lose heavily. Gov. Claffin has no idea of involving the commonwealth further, and the full exposition of the fraudulent conduct of the managers of the road ought to convince the Legislature of the folly of attempting to revive an enterprise under such management and such association. The message of the Governor recites that at the time the State granted aid to the amount of \$5,000,000 in 1868 the corporation had sufficient means to complete the road to the Hudson River, but that the funds were wasted in "Stock speculations, and for other purposes still worse.' What the latter were we are left to imagine, and are certainly at a loss to conjecture. But by these means, whatever they were, their own money and that of the State was wasted and a debt of \$8,000,000 was created. Thereupon, with their offenses, and their debts unprovided for, and the mortgages to the State unpaid, the corporators with an effrontery worthy of "those greatest ' railway managers in the world" of other Erie fame, came forward and asked another loan, and tendered another mortgage. And the Legislature voted to grant further aid. It is this aid bill which Gov. Clafflin very properly vetoes. The State cannot, in ustice to her creditors, continue its partnership with this corporation, and the sooner it cuts loose from such connection the better for its credit.

A conspiracy to clean out the municipal treasury, under pretense of removing the festering foulness which Brown has been handsomely paid for removing, was partially developed vesterday in the special session of the Board of Health. It is proposed that the Board shall contract to have the streets cleaned, in addition to the purifying Brown is supposed to give them, five times per week in the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, and parts of the 8th, 17th and 18th Wards, while the other portions of these, with the 1st, 7th, 9th, 15th, and parts of the 20th and 22d Wards, are to be cleaned twice, and the other Wards and parts of Wards once. Here is a chance for spending the public money undoubtedly delightful to the street-cleaning Ring which is to receive it, but rather the reverse to the people who are to pay it. The contract for the additional work is to be made with Brown, who has already done the Ring some service, and the fact suggests a problem which we can state, but not solve: If Brown has \$498,500 for the habitual violation of a contract requiring him to clean the streets once in each week, how much will he get for doing the same under a contract binding him to clean them twice, thrice, or six times per week? It is claimed by Tammany that the authorities are not limited by the new law as to the amount to be spent in streetcleaning, and they are evidently acting on that hypothesis. The \$1,000,000 which has been supposed to be the utmost that could be stolen by this device will not go far in the contemplated arrangement. Ignorance may be bliss, but we are curious to know just how much it is intended to put away in private purses by this bold confidence game.

This amazing little invention of the English press seems to have gone about far enough! Half the papers in England have been publishing the story that an American firm proposed to telegraph the entire novel of "Lothair" from London to New York for the sake of getting ahead of rival firms. It seems time to tell what the simple facts are out of which this enormous story has grown. When it had become known that Mr. Disraeli's novel was to deal largely in pungent personalities affecting some of the most prominent men in the Government and the literature of the United Kingdom, and before it was certain that advance sheets were be sent for simultaneous publication to the United States, THE TRIBUNE proposed to telegraph from London a three-column review of the novel. The proposition was made to the American representatives of the associated land and ocean lines between London and New-York, and the consultation which arose between them and the English authorities led to a discussion, in the course torted fashion in England. The intention of The Tribune to order this disputch was the sole basis for the preposterous story which has since been cir-culated. of which the facts seem to have leaked out in dis-

M. Laboulaye, in replying to an address from a number of students disapproving of the recent disturbances, says: "If violence had not closed my mouth, I Switzerland that the plebiscitum, or appeal to the people, is a valuable triumph for democracy, and will be the future form of liberty. You would then feel that I alone perhaps among the democrats had the sentiment of the future. The letters I receive from Switzerland are unanimous in approval of the part I have taken." In conclusion, he says: "After 22 years devoted to education, resulting in impaired health, I have a ciaim to repose." thy of his domicil. His body was clothed only

THE INCOME TAX. THE LATE DEBATE REVIEWED. To the Editor of The Tribune. SIR: The recent debate on the Income Tax is not only remarkable for the disregard of the constitu-

obligations of public faith were trifled with. The repeated assurances by legislative act, both of the House and of the Scuate, that the Income Tax would last "until 1870 and no longer," previously urged as a bar to its reënactment by the Press, was carnestly preced in the House as a reason for not renewing it. Be it ever so desirable," it was declared, "I believe it cannot be renewed without a stain upon the honor of Congress." In confirmation, the rejection of a proposal to renew it by the British Parliament because of an identical pledge was adduced. How was this objection met ! "One Congress cannot control the action of another. We are independent of all past Congresses on this subject." Again it was said, "The doctrine of estoppel is not one much favored in the Courts. If it be a strong pledge to say the tax shall continue two years and no onger, it is a stronger pledge not to put the tax on The truth is, this matter is within the power of the legislative department to put on a tax where there has been none before, or to alter the taxes as may seem to it best. It is perfectly idla to bring us down (I almost said to the most pettifogging idea which could prevail in a Court that we are estopped from legislating for the benefit of the country) by either putting off or putting on, in our system of taxation. As to the example of Great Britain, it was asked "Who are the legislators of Great Britain? Gentlemen of estates and large in come, and the wonder is they should pay any income tax at all, for it is a tax on themselves. It was answered: "One Congress has no legal power to limit the legislation of a succeeding Congress, But the question is not a question of naked power. Congress has, indeed, the power to commit any wrong within the scope of its authority. But it has no and right. And when one Congress has given pledges to the people that certain legislation should not be continued, and the people have relied on these rinders. a succeeding Congress is as much bound to carry out these pledges as if directly made by it. A to estoppels arising from the equity of the case, they are as upon every principle of right they ought to be alike received by every tribunal in which justice is regarded."

This manly rebuke does honor to the source from which it came, for amid all the false opinious, and all the sinuosities in which short-sighted politicians have involved themselves, not one is so fatal to the stability of government and of society. We deny it, we reject it with disgust. It is not true, as a fact, that "one Congress cannot control the action of another." It is of the essence of Society as of Government, that in many cases it should have the power to control and should exercise the power of controlling its successor. It is of the essence of the coustitution of government under which we tive. Immediately after conferring upon Congress the revenue power, it confers the power "to borrow money on the wedit of the United States." Does not the benaficial, almost any, exertion of this power require that one Congress shall have power to bind its successors by mortgaging public funds as a security to the public creditors for money loaned ! Can such a power to borrow be beneficially exerted, if at all, by confining the term of loans to the term of the existence of the Congress which authorizes them-a term of two years? Does not such a mertgage by a government bind the funds mortgaged as firmly and as long as a mortgage by an individual, that is, until the debt for which they are pledged as a security is discharged? If this be notice, then the word "credit" used in the Constitution has little or no meaning. The principle of vested rights has no meaning as to the Government of the United States. The declared objects of the taxing power "to provide for the common defense and general welfare" are without meaning, except for the term of an existing Congress! On this subject, Hamilton, the founder of the fiscal system of this country, has pronounced strongly, "unless it can be maintained that the power of ordinary legislation is in itself illimitable, uncontrollable, incapable of being bound either by its own acts or by the injunctions or prohibitions of a Constitution, it will follow that the body invested with that power, may bind itself, and may bind its successor, so that neither itself nor its successor can of right revoke acts which may have been once done. To say that a Legislature may bind itself but not its successor, is to affirm that the latter has not mercian equal, but a greater right than the former, else it could not do what the former was unable to do. Equality of power only will not somee for the argu-

the public debt by a pledge of the credit of this nation, the avowal of such an opinion is a most alarming venture of the public interests. The doctrine of estoppel, as applied to a legislative promise, is, we have seen, very slightingly alluded to. This may suit some of the present Congress, but it will not suit elsewhere. "The sense of estoppel," (Kent's Commentaries, note to page 287, vol. iv.) "is the a man, for the sake of good faith and fair deeling ought to be estopped from saying the to be false which by his means has once been credited for truth, and by his representat a. a led others to act. "The very definition of est pel," said Mr. Justice Cowen, in 3 Hill, 219, " is, when an admission is intended to lead and does lead a mo with whom a party is dealing into a line of con duct which must be prejudicial to his interest, anless the party estopped be cut off from the power of retraction." Most fitly, therefore, was this doctrine of estoppel urged as a doctrine of " good faith and fair dealing." Most fitly, when it is considered that the true definition of public debt is a property sub isting on the faith of the Government. Its essence s promise. Its definite value depends upon the ance that the promise will be definitely ful sted." Preceding Congresses gave the piedge that the Income Tax should "not continue longer than 1870," and, as to every purchaser of the National securities under the faith of this pledge, its non-fulfillment is and must be deemed a National fraud. And for what is this National fraud to be committed ! For a pittance (in proportion to the total revenue to be collected) of a few millions of dollars! Passing from the considerations of the unconstitu-

In a Congress seeking to negotiate a modification of

tionality of the proposed Income Tax, and the obligations of the National good faith, we are led to read in this debate, other of the arguments in relation to this odious discriminating tax. "This tax is unequal," it was urged, "perjury provoking and crime encouraging, because it is at war with the right of a person to keep private and regulate his business affairs and financial matters. It makes the tax-gatherer a spy, with power to open up to his own or to the public gaze that which the Constitution and the law recognizes as one of the inherent rights of man under a form of government like ours to keep secret." What was the reply ? "It is unequal-so are all other taxes, nor is it more inquisitorial than the law regulating the customs?" Its chief alleged marita, however, were its discriminating effects. "It is collected mainly from those sections of the country, and those persons who have concentrated to themselves the wealth produced by other sections and by others," and so doing it affected injuriously no great interests of the community. This probably is the first time that the sectional operation of a power of the Government of the whole Union was ever adduced in its favor, and that it being a tax upon concentrated wealth therefore was not prejudicial.

Upon the distributed benefits of concentrated wealth in bringing forward to that center the products of the distant labors of the country it is not necessary to remark. Of the influence of that concentrated wealth in giving value to those products, and thus encouraging the production, it is not necessary to remark, that without the use of that concentrated wealth poverty must despair, and the poor become poorer; that without it the defensive vigor of a nation must not only be weakened, but in abatement under pressing emergencies, these are facts that need no proof. But how is it that this tax does not operate prejudicially ! Because of the proposed exemption from taxation of the capital invested or to be invested in the public securities, the less activa